British Military Expert Contradicts LBJ on Air Losses, P. 4

A Voice All Claim to Respect But None Seem to Heed

"The international climate has not been so explosive since the end of World War II . . . If fear and suspicion prevail . . . I am afraid we are going to face a great and terrible holocaust . . . All the wonderful creations of mankind, all achievements in mankind's history of about one million years, are in danger of being obliterated."

—UN Secretary General U Thant at a luncheon in his honor in Mexico City, Aug. 24.

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Between Johnson's Yin and Mao's Yang

A month abroad, away from the stale atmosphere of Washington, provides fresh perspective. The eye reapproaches the familiar globe, as if from a space vehicle. One unexpected feature is the resemblance between the two giants, the United States and China, though one is so rich and the other so poor. Both have been isolating themselves from their own closest allies by what Senator Fulbright called "the arrogance of power." The gulf opened between Western Europe and the United States by the Vietnamese war is as wide as the gulf opened between Eastern Europe and China by the latter's neo-Stalinism. Only the obsequious West Germans support us in the Vietnamese war; they are, in this sense, our Albanians. But even in West Germany, there are fearful misgivings beneath the surface; these were voiced by Adenauer, in the interview he gave Cyrus Sulzberger (*New York Times* international edition, Aug. 8), advising the U.S. to get out of Vietnam lest—with America bogged down in Asia—Russia dominate Europe. In this *Der Alte* said publicly what other West European statesmen only say privately.

Fear of War With China

American and Chinese intransigeance have created strange attitudes on both sides of the East-West line. A wealthy American investor with whom I talked in a chance encounter abroad said he was surprised by the violent hostility to the Vietnamese war he encountered among conservative friends in London financial circles; they thought the U.S. was in the wrong and ought to get out of Vietnam. On the other hand, a close friend who feels as I do about the Vietnamese war, was appalled in Yugoslavia to find intellectuals so fearful of China's dogmatism that they hoped for an American military victory in Vietnam as a means of humbling the Chinese. The main fear on our side of the line is that the U.S. may drag Western Europe with it into a war with China; de Gaulle reflected that fear when he let it be known in August that he would not allow the air bases the U.S. is evacuating in France to be maintained on a stand-by basis for emergencies. The French reiterated de Gaulle's position that France would come to the aid of any NATO power which was the victim of "unprovoked aggression" but would insist on being "the sole judge" of what constituted unprovoked aggression. (UPI from Paris in NYT inter'l Aug. 10.) This serves notice on the U.S. not to expect automatic French support through NATO if we provoke war with China.

The main fear on the other side of the East-West Line is that if Mao succeeds in consolidating himself over his internal opposition—and this is seen as very broad and wide, indeed, when so many of his oldest comrades have been purged and vigilante bands have to be called up to intimidate them—then this would encourage the hard-liners in the rest of the Soviet world. In Yugoslavia, in Poland and in Russia the struggle to widen the area of free discussion against bureaucratic opposition is difficult enough as it is. The Mihailov case in Yugoslavia is hardly a monument to Tito's liberalism. There are analogous fears on the economic side, where there is a struggle to invigorate bureaucratic socialism by an infusion of managerial free enterprise and market forces.There are indications in the invective of the Maoists that similar pragmatic tendencies had made their appearance in China. Maoism threatens the hopes of mingling humanism with communism. China draws support among the Soviet bloc intellectuals only from the repulsion aroused by our barbarous war in Vietnam. Were it not for Johnson's reversion to big stick diplomacy in the colonial world, Soviet bloc intellectuals

(Continued on Page Two)

Operation-Was-Successful But-Patient-Died Dept. (Military Division)

Saigon, Aug 26—Nearly two-thirds of the Americans killed in a fierce battle north of here were victims of American napalm that missed its marked targets by only 50 meters a general explained sadly tonight. The same napalm wounded nearly one-fifth of the Americans injured in action, said Maj. Gen. Wm. E. De Puy, commander of the 1st Infantry Division . . . The General said that while "commanders made no mistakes" in the action, one of the American battalions lost its acting commander, and two company commanders were lost along with a number of other officers. These losses, he said, contributed to "a lack of cohesion" during part of the action.

—Ralph H. Kennan in Baltimore Sun, Aug. 27

Saigon, Aug. 27—U.S. Air Force, Navy and Marine planes flew a record number of missions Friday against North Vietnamese targets, it was announced today . . . Despite the increasing air attacks, a high U.S. Navy officer said that sightings of south-bound trucks "have increasing appreciably over the past six weeks." He insisted that "this is not indicative that the interdiction campaign has not been performing well. It suggests a much heavier push toward the South."

—Washington Post, Aug. 28

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Mahon Says $5 to $15 Billion More Will Be Asked For Vietnam After November

Stennis Hearings Reflect Conservative Misgivings About LBJ's War

(Continued from Page One)

would be looking to the U.S. for example and inspiration in the fight for freedom of expression. In the perverse dialectic created by two obsessed and wilful old men in Peking and Washington, China's main argument is provided by our fliers over Vietnam; America's, by Peking's Red Guards. The moderates on both sides fear polarization of the world in a holy war between Washington and Peking, between Johnson's Yin and Mao's Yang, each the caricature of a great ideal.

Rusk's Aesopian Language

Both countries lay claim to universal hegemony. China seeks, though with little response even in adjacent areas, the leadership of the world revolutionary movement; the U.S., to protect the status quo everywhere. "The primary purpose of our military forces," Secretary Rusk told the Veterans of Foreign Wars Aug. 22, "is to make resort to force by the adversaries of freedom unprofitable and dangerous." The "adversaries of freedom" is Aesopian language. Just as the Nazis had honorary Aryans, so we have honorary Jeffersonians, like Ky in Vietnam and Castelo Branco in Brazil. "We are not trying to establish a *pax Americana*," Rusk told the Stennis committee Aug. 25. But almost in the same breath he was explaining not only that we had special military pacts with 40 countries but warning "No would be aggressor should suppose that the absence of a defense treaty, Congressional declaration or U.S. military presence grants immunity to aggression." This interventionism is served up as internationalism while those who believe the U.S. should act through international organizations and not by unilateral military action are accused of being isolationist! The Chinese are not the only ones who believe theirs the Middle Kingdom, empowered by Heaven to impose law and order on the outer barbarians.

In the cracked mirror provided by Peking's propaganda, one can catch glimpses of sober dissident views warning against a megalomania that has been vastly overestimating China's power and influence. The Stennis hearings on America's world-wide military commitments, which opened with Rusk's testimony, reflects not too dissimilar conservative misgivings in our own capital. These hearings raise questions from a wholly new quarter about our militarized foreign policy and the Vietnamese war. In opening the hearings, Senator Stennis warned, as Adenauer did, that "we cannot let the requirements of Southeast Asia . . . degrade the importance of the NATO area which is still the decisive region." He said we had to face up to "the hard fact that a relatively small and undeveloped country such as North Vietnam has been able to tie us down and require a very substantial commitment of our military manpower and resources." He said this shows what we must expect "if similar wars of aggression or similar outbreaks" should occur elsewhere. He called for "a hard-headed and realistic assessment of the problems with which we would be confronted" in terms of manpower and resources "if two, three or more of such contingencies should occur simultaneously." These are the sober calculations which move a subcommittee as powerful and conservative as Stennis's preparedness subcommittee of Senate Armed Services. Johnson was himself chairman of this subcommittee for many years, and knows it will not be as easily repelled as the Senate's divided and timorous collection of doves. Perhaps this is why Johnson hastily called a Cabinet meeting for the day on which the hearings opened.

"I understand," Stennis told Rusk with dry courtliness," "that since your appointment with us, the President has had to call an important meeting of the Cabinet at 12 o'clock and you have to leave us at 11:45." The only visible urgent business was to blanket the Stennis committee's misgivings before press-time. McNamara was trotted out to declare that the manpower drain of the Vietnamese war had been more than compensated for by the increase in over-all strength of the military establishment. I suspect this will prove to be another of his disingenuous statements about the war, since that over-all increase could hardly have compensated for the

Just A Jolly Old County Fair

"The second program—and in the long run the more important of the two—is our pacification program, which is also known under the terms of 'civic action', 'revolutionary development' or 'rehabilitation.' This program consists of pulling out of the village structure the Viet Cong who have been living in those areas for years—identifying them, encouraging them to return to the Government side through the 'open arms' defector program, capturing them, killing them . . .

Q. How in the world do you identify the enemy?

A. . . . We call it the 'County Fair' operation. . . . We select a hamlet, say of 500 or 600 people. We put a cordon around that hamlet, usually before daylight. Then with South Vietnamese troops we enter the hamlet, assemble all the people, screen each individual, move the people out of the hamlet into an enclosure where we can start giving them medical treatment, feeding them and issuing identity cards. This takes about three days."

—Interview with Gen. Greene, commandant of the Marine Corps in U.S. News & World Report, *Sept. 5.*

Rusk's Failure to Repudiate Ky's Invasion Proposal Protested in the Senate

"Mr. President, the flamboyant young Prime Minister, Ky, of the Saigon government recently urged that instead of waging a long war to win a victory in South Vietnam, North Vietnam should be invaded by land forces pouring over the 17th parallel and from the sea. This was an irresponsible statement typical of the reckless and brash young puppet that we have installed as head of the Saigon government. What is frightening is the fact that Secretary Rusk, when asked to comment on this statement at a press conference, said, 'There is no policy desire to move into North Vietnam or the demilitarized zone.' It will depend, Mr. Rusk said, 'On the turn of events; the commander will have to do these things to protect the security of his troops.'

"It should be unthinkable that we would escalate this miserable civil war to the extent of invading North Vietnam with all the risks that such a move implies. However, Secretary Rusk's refusal to repudiate Ky's statement indicates that in his mind at least that possibility exists. Should that happen, any chance of negotiating a cease-fire or armistice in Vietnam would be seriously jeopardized, if not completely destroyed. We might very well find ourselves on a collision course toward war with Red China, if not worse.

"Mr. President, Administration officials should at once put a stop to any idea that we would seriously consider invading North Vietnam by land. Such talk has a way of creating a climate of acceptance; before long the thinkable becomes thinkable."

—Young (D. Ohio) in the Senate Aug. 23 supported by Senators Gruening and Morse. (Abridged).

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McNamara's Naive View of the Pentagon as An Educational Institution

When Will RFK Attack Conflict Between Vietnam and War On Poverty?

tight supply of non-coms and technicians of all sorts. When I was in Vietnam I saw non-coms who looked as if they had been taken off the porch of an old soldier's home. Five recruits do not make up for one Sergeant. The Vietnamese war is absorbing a disproportionately high percentage of what might be called the skilled workers of the armed services.

China, Too, Sees the Army As A School

It is against this background that one must assess Secretary McNamara's speech to the VFW Aug. 23 discovering the horrors of poverty, and proposing to "fix up" for military service 100,000 men a year currently being rejected for medical or educational reasons. Since a large proportion of these are Negroes, and Negroes in combat arms are already more than three times their proportion of the population, the McNamara proposal has evoked bitter reaction from Negro leadership. No doubt the armed services have educational devices and medical services as excellent as McNamara claims but it will be asked why can't they be made available in civilian schools and health centers. It may not be fair but it is amusing to observe that just when Mao and Lin Piao praise the army as the school of the people, McNamara too puts forward the armed services as the school of the rejected. The Pentagon hardly recommends itself as an educational institution, especially for a democratic society and a peaceful world. However well-intentioned McNamara may be, these proposals like his Montreal suggestion for universal service, can only become new steps in the militarization of American life. On the floor of the House last Monday, Aug. 29, Chairman Mahon of House Appropriations said that with the passage of the new $58 billion defense bill the Pentagon would have $100 billion to spend this fiscal year but would still need a new appropriation "in a few months," i.e. after election, of "between $5 billion and $15 billion." He advised the House to cut all other appropriation requests as much as it reasonably could to make way for this stupendous war budget. This means holding down the poverty program and fitting human rehabilitation to the Defense Department's growing need for troops. This will add fresh fuel to the racial bitterness in our Negro ghettoes.

Emotionally, financially, politically, the war on poverty and the war in Vietnam cannot be reconciled. One must eliminate the other, and the latter is clearly winning. The $100 billion dollar tumble in stock market values since February has been matched at the bottom of society by a less sensational but more painful rise in the cost of living, especially food, and a sharp reduction in housing due to the feverish rise in interest rates. This in turn is due to Johnson's unwillingness to add to his war's unpopularity by a boost in income taxes. As Johnson's own popularity falls, his apologetics become sillier. At Denver and before the American Legion, he tried to sell the war as if it were a global war on poverty. It is incredible that the same man could attribute colonial unrest to bad land tenure systems and lack of freedom while he pours more men and money into the support of a bankrupt dictatorship of landlords and militarists in South Vietnam. The Latins will rub their eyes when they read that the President said at Denver that in Latin America "we are on the side of those who, year by year, seek to enlarge the spectrum of discussion." Have Brazil and Argentina vanished from the White House maps?

The only good news out of Washington is that the Republicans have begun to talk out of both sides of their mouth—as in the Korean war, they are now both hawk and dove—and that Bobby Kennedy is outdistancing Johnson in the opinion polls, LBJ's tenderest spot. But those who see Kennedy taking the nomination from Johnson in 1968 are dreaming the most unlikely dreams. Long before any such improbable outcome looms into view, it is more likely that Johnson may offer Kennedy second place on the ticket—and that, too, is an outsize possibility. Kennedy is being careful not to burn his bridges with the White House and make such a development impossible. He has said very little about the war in months, and his eloquent statement on urban renewal and Negro needs at the Ribicoff hearings Aug. 15 was noteworthy by its adoption of the Keyserling-AFL-CIO line that the growth in gross national product makes it possible to fight both the war abroad and poverty at home. The convulsion in the stock and bond markets is only the most striking evidence that there is something wrong with this arithmetic. Kennedy will prove his mettle only when he is bold enough to break with it.

Our Hero Explains Again About Hitler

"Referring to earlier reports quoting him as saying Hitler was his idol, Premier Ky said this was not exactly what he meant. He said that when somebody asked him what South Vietnam needed to unify its people, he had answered a 'strong man' and had pointed out that Germany under Hitler was able to rise and grow strong. Besides, he said, amid laughter, he did not like Hitler because 'he was not handsome and not a lady-killer.'"

—Reuters covering Ky's press conference in Manila, the New York Times *international edition, Aug. 13-14 p. 2.*

How Saigon University Students Feel About the U.S. and the Ky Regime's Elections

Saigon University students, aroused by what they regard as a moral decline, today demanded an end to the "escalation" of marriages between U.S. servicemen and Vietnamese girls. The students called for an end to intermarriages in a meeting today in which they also called for an end to the war and solution of the economic, political and social problems it has caused. They called for a deadline on the presence of foreign troops in South Vietnam and said that other nations were using their country as "a playing card."

In addition to demanding a written guarantee of the removal of foreign troops by unspecified date, they said the government should require foreign troops to be quartered "in some separate areas." The students criticized recent economic moves by the government, stating that tax increases and devaluation of the piastre had hurt middle class Vietnamese. They also criticized the government for allowing Filipinos and Koreans to work for U.S. companies in Vietnam while Vietnamese workers needed jobs.

On the U.S. foreign aid program, the students said the Vietnamese government should be free to choose what Vietnam needs "instead of being directed by the U.S. government." The statement also called on the government to release students who were arrested during the recent political crisis. They said the innocent should be set free and the guilty prosecuted instead of being drafted into the Army.

On the election of a Constituent Assembly scheduled for September, the students said they would take a wait-and-see attitude to find out if the government carries out the balloting honestly before deciding whether to support the results.

—Saigon Post, Aug. 9, 1966.

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LBJ's Claim Our Aircraft Losses Less Than Expected Is Contradicted

London *Times* Military Expert Reveals Sober Facts Kept From Us At Home

"I don't see any change for the worse at all. Our plane losses are under those that we have estimated."

—LBJ at a news conference August 9, two days after we had lost 7 planes in one day over North Vietnam.

"The loss of seven American fighter bombers over North Vietnam in one day—the highest figure since the bombing started—underlines the fact that, militarily speaking, the U.S. is not winning the air war over North Vietnam. The political constraints on the choosing of targets, the improved air defense of North Vietnam, the rapid powers of recovery of the North Vietnamese, and the high value of American aircraft in relation to the targets they engage, all combine to create a serious situation for the United States.

Swift Repair Work

"From the military point of view the bombing of North Vietnam is not having more than a marginal effect on that country's ability to wage war in the south. It may, in President Johnson's words, 'raise the price of aggression' but it is not stopping it, as the ability of the North Vietnamese to repair their lines of communication, or find new ones, seems to outdistance the American ability to destroy roads, railways and bridges once and for all.

"The Americans have now lost 326 aircraft over North Vietnam, mainly from ground fire. Russian missiles have accounted for about 15, and Soviet MIG fighters for even fewer. The chief importance of the missiles so far has been twofold. It has reduced the 'safe' areas for flying over North Vietnam until they hardly exist. The missiles, whose most effective range is over 10,000 feet, have forced the American aircraft to stay down at a height which brings them into range of radar-controlled anti-aircraft fire, and even small arms fire. American aircraft now have to fly in from the sea at an intermediate height—ready to duck down if the pilots spot an enemy missile, but high enough to restrict the amount of ground fire. The high performance aircraft have proven less able to sustain damage from ground fire than their predecessors of the Second World War.

"A highly intense electronic warfare is also being waged by both sides, with efforts to jam each other's radars. So far the North Vietnamese have not been able successfully to confuse the American bombers' radar, any more than the Americans have been able to throw radar-controlled anti-aircraft fire off target. The Americans are also finding that the North Vietnamese have retimed the fuses of their shells to explode at a much lower level than previously.

"The air defense in North Vietnam has improved so much that the reconnaissance aircraft, which used to be able to fly alone at low level, now have to be accompanied by a fighter bomber ready to keep the enemy's heads down should anti-aircraft fire start up. All these factors are beginning to take their toll on the American air effort. The losses of 326 represent more than the total number of aircraft at present committed to that role. THE ATTRITION RATE OF LOST AIRCRAFT IS ABOUT HALF AGAIN AS HIGH AS WAS ORIGINALLY EXPECTED, with the consequent scarcities of men and machines, and demands for a higher level of reinforcements than has yet been possible.

"It may seem strange that the American aircraft have to fly so many sorties—26,000 in 1965—for such limited damage. This is explained by the fact that most roads, railways and bridges seem to be repaired or replaced by the North Vietnamese within 48 hours of their being bombed. For instance, IN 1965 THE RAILWAY LINES WERE CUT MORE THAN 500 TIMES, BUT THEY HAVE NEVER BEEN KEPT CLOSED FOR LONG. But each sortie over a target may easily result in the loss of one aircraft, costing almost $1 million in return for achieving a limited objective which will have to be regained in two days time.

"If the Russians were to deploy their most modern missiles in Vietnam, and in more numbers than now, the American administration would be forced to make a profound decision. They would either have to order the bombing of more important installations, such as power plants, docks and factories, in the hope that this would have a more noticeable effect not only on North Vietnam's conduct of the war in the South, but on Hanoi's own attitude toward negotiation, or else they would have to reduce the bombing in the knowledge that it had been both a political and a military failure." [Emphasis added.]

—Defense Correspondent, The Times *(London), Aug. 9.*

More Bombing To Cover Up Failure?

"Faced with an increasingly expensive total of aircraft losses, and no tangible political or military gain to show for it, the Administration may find it hard not to react by ordering the bombing of more "lucrative" targets to justify their losses and bring stronger pressure on Hanoi. The main danger lies in the fact that the failure of the first bombing phase has not warned Washington that the solution to the problem does not necessarily lie on the next rung up the ladder."

—An editorial in The Times *(London), Aug. 9.*

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